

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8556
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1962

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV RH US UK
SUBJ: RHODES A: GRAHAM-LOW DISCUSSION WITH ZAPU

1. SUMMARY: TWO ZAPU OFFICIALS EXPRESSED GREAT SUSPICION TO GRAHAM AND ME OVER FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL PENDING AGREEMENT BY THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS TO ATTEND AN ALL PARTY MEETING. THEY ARE CONCERNED THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS FIRST TO US AND THEN TO THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS. THERE IS A GOOD POSSIBILITY THAT WE WILL HAVE A FURTHER CONVERSATION ON THE SUBJECT WITH JOSHUA NKOMO AFTER HE ARRIVES AND BEFORE WE LEAVE ON SUNDAY. THE ZAPU OFFICIALS EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE CONCERN THAT SMITH MIGHT BE ABLE TO RUN THE BOBTAILED NATIONAL ELECTIONS BASED ON LIST SYSTEM PROPORTIONAL
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REPRESENTATION WHICH HE IS APPARENTLY NOW PROPOSING, AND THAT IF HE DID, CHIRAU WOULD WIN. END SUMMARY.

2. GRAHAM AND I LUNCHEDED WITH SAMUEL MUNODAWAFA, ZAPU NATIONAL CHAIRMAN AND JOHN NKOMO, JOSHUA'S CLOSE ASSOCIATE, ON THURSDAY, JUNE 1. THE LENGTHY CONVERSATION WAS UNUSUALLY FRANK AND CORDIAL. IT WAS DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS: A DISCUSSION OF THE PROCEDURES

OF FURTHER GRAHAM/LOW CONTACTS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTION PROCEDURE NOW BEING PROPOSED BY SMITH FOR THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT.

3. GRAHAM MADE AN INITIAL PRESENTATION AT LUNCH OF OUR AIM TO ORGANIZE AN ALL PARTIES MEETING WHICH CAN PRODUCE AN AGREED SETTLEMENT AND OF OUR MEANS OF OPERATION. HE SAID HE HOPED THAT WE COULD PERIODICALLY RETURN TO LUSAKA OR MAPUTO FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PF OF SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS SOME OF WHICH WE HAD NEVER CONSIDERED TOGETHER BEFORE, LIKE THE CONSTITUTION, AND OTHERS ON MORE FAMILIAR SUBJECTS INVOLVED WITH THE TRANSITION. WE WOULD BE GLAD TO MEET AT WHATEVER LEVEL THE PF WISHED AND UNDERSTOOD THAT NOTHING WOULD BE BINDING UNTIL A FINAL AGREEMENT WAS MADE.

4. MUNODAWAFA AND NKOMO STARTED OFF WITH A FLAT STATEMENT THAT UNTIL THE SALISBURY GROUP HAD AGREED TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE, THERE WAS NO POINT OF ANY FURTHER NEGOTIATION WITH THE PF. AS THE CONVERSATION PROGRESSED HOWEVER THEY SOFTENED THEIR VIEW. AS GRAHAM PUT IT, WE COULD NOT GET VERY FAR IF ONE SIDE WOULD NOT TALK SUBSTANCE UNTIL THE OTHER AGREED TO ATTEND A MEETING, AND THE OTHER SIDE WOULD NOT AGREE TO ATTEND A MEETING UNTIL THE FIRST HAD TALKED MORE SUBSTANCE. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE PF PROBLEM WAS THE SAME AS IT HAD RAISED BEFORE DAR. IT IS CONCERNED ABOUT NEGOTIATING AND MAKING CONCESSIONS TO US AND THEN BEING ASKED TO ENTER A SECOND STAGE DIRECT NEGOTIATION WITH THE INTERNAL PARTIES
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IN WHICH FURTHER CONCESSIONS WOULD BE REQUIRED. WE ARGUED THAT THE UK-US WERE NOT A PARTY TO THE NEGOTIATION BUT RATHER MEDIATORS; THAT IN DISCUSSING THE ISSUES WITH US, WE WERE ENLARGING COMMON GROUND BETWEEN THEM AND THE SALISBURY GROUP, AND THAT THEREFORE IT WAS NOT A TWO STAGE PROCESS. BY THE END OF THE DISCUSSION THE ZAPU OFFICIALS PROFESSED TO UNDERSTAND OUR POSITION BETTER. THEY DID NOT RULE OUT FURTHER MEETINGS, ALTHOUGH THEY DID NOT MAKE ANY COMMITMENT TO ACCEPT THEM EITHER.

5. SINCE JOSHUA NKOMO IS DUE BACK IN THE NEXT DAY OR SO, WE ASKED ABOUT A MEETING WITH HIM BEFORE OUR DEPARTURE SUNDAY. JOHN NKOMO TOLD ME BEFORE HE LEFT THAT HE THOUGHT HE COULD PUT IT TO THE ZAPU PRESIDENT IN SUCH A WAY THAT THERE WAS A GOOD POSSIBILITY OF A MEETING TAKING PLACE.

6. THE REST OF THE LUNCH CONSISTED OF A FRANK DISCUSSION OF THE SITUATION INSIDE RHODESIA. THE ZAPU OFFICIALS WERE FULLY APPRISED OF SMITH'S PLANS TO HOLD A "CORNER-CUTTING" ELECTION ON THE BASIS OF A PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION LIST SYSTEM HELD IN A NATIONAL CONSTITUENCY, WHICH WOULD NOT REQUIRE PREVIOUS REGISTRATION. MUNODAWAFA AND NKOMO WERE EMPHATIC IN SAYING THAT MUCH OF THE POPULATION IN THE TRIBAL TRUST LANDS WOULD NOT TAKE PART

IN THE VOTING, HOWEVER, ENOUGH OF THEM WOULD DO SO THAT IT WAS CERTAIN THAT CHIEF CHIRAU WOULD WIN. THIS WOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH THE INFLUENCE OF DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS EXERCISED ON THE CHIEFS, HEADMEN, KRAAL CHIEFS, AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS THEY WOULD BE INSTRUCTED TO VOTE FOR THE CHIEFS AND WOULD DO SO IN GREAT ENOUGH NUMBER TO OVERWHELM MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE. AFTER THE ELECTION THERE WOULD BE A SITHOLE-CHIRAU ALLIANCE WHICH WOULD ELIMINATE MUZOREWA. THEY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT AT THE TIME OF THE PIERCE COMMISSION (1971) AFRICANS WERE ABLE TO EXPRESS A CONTRARY VIEW TO THAT HELD BY THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS, CHIEFS, HEADMEN ETC. HOWEVER THEY POINTED OUT THAT ON THAT OCCASION THEY THEMSELVES HAD BEEN ACTIVE ORGANIZING THE OPPOSITION. THIS TIME, THEY NOTED, THEY WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO ORGANIZE SUCH OPPOSITION. WE ASKED WHETHER CHINAMANO-LED INTERNAL ZAPU WAS NOT POLITICALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1962

INFLUENTIAL AND MIGHT NOT FILL THIS FUNCTION. THEY REPLIED THAT
THOUGH HE AND HIS GROUP WERE STRONG, IT WAS NOT CLEAR WHAT
ROLE THEY WOULD BE PLAYING.

7. COMMENT: THE TWO ZAPU OFFICIALS WERE UNUSUALLY FRANK AND
FRIENDLY WHETHER BY NATURAL INCLINATION OR BASED ON THE FACT
THAT THEY ARE GENUINELY CONCERNED OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF
SUCCESS OF SMITH'S ATTEMPT TO MAKE THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT
WORK. WE DOUBT THAT THEIR EXPRESSION OF UNDERSTANDING OF OUR
POSITION ON FURTHER CONTACTS WITH THE PF WILL BE SUPPORTED BY
JOSHUA NKOMO OR ROBERT MUGABE, WHO ARE STILL APPARENTLY
CONVINCED THAT ANY CONCESSIONS THEY MAKE TO US NOW WILL BE WASTED
BECAUSE THEY WILL HAVE TO MAKE MORE IN THEIR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS
WITH THE INTERNAL PARTIES. NEVERTHELESS, I BELIEVE THEY WILL
AGREE TO CONTINUE TO MEET WITH US FOR THE TIME BEING ANYWAY.
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